GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

FAR EAST COMMAND

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XXIV

"KONOYE TRIES AGAIN"

(20 Jul - 2 Sep 1940)
Vol I

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

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MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

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CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART TWENTY FOUR: KONOYE TRIES AGAIN

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 370
(20 July 1940)

Prince Konoye Proposed

Translated by Lt. Hakuzo Nitta

According to KIDO'S version, Vice Minister of War ANAMI came to him and stated that the Military cannot possibly be satisfied with the present cabinet's organization. Therefore, in order to change the foreign policy, ANAMI stated that a shake-up of the cabinet must take place. KIDO was concerned about the possibility of a government upheaval within the near future.

From Foreign Minister ARITA, I heard; " I spoke to Chief Cabinet Secretary ISHIWATA and YONAI about the desirability of KONOYE's new political order and united government. It seemed both were giving it considerable deliberation."

On the morning of the 11th, I called Vice Minister ANAMI on the phone and feinting innocence, I asked: "Just what are you insisting on?" ANAMI replied: "At present, there is no consistency between the foreign policy and military operations. In order for these to coincide, the Cabinet must inevitably be changed. I wish Prince KONOYE will exert his efforts to this end."

When I phoned Prince KONOYE at Karuizawa, he said: "A person representing himself as a courier from Col. USUI of the General Staff Headquarters said : "There are various rumours concerning a change in government; however, it would be better if you devoted yourself to the national unity political system at this time, and it would be better if you were rather prudent about dabbling in the present political situation. In short, I think someone like SHODA is suitable for taking charge of this political change."

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Prince Konoye Proposed

Furthermore, KONOYE stated: "Maj. Gen. SUZUKI Teiichi is persistently wanting to meet me. Just what does it indicate?" Thereupon, I called on Maj. Gen. SUZUKI at the Asia Development Board on the morning of the 13th and asked him about this. SUZUKI replied: "The present Cabinet will never do." His plan was: "The only course open to the next cabinet would be to reduce the number of cabinet members to facilitate the progress of work." Because he expounded thusly on his plans, I stated: "Why don't you write out your plans and present them to KONOYE?" I am of the opinion that the general probably presented his plans to KONOYE.

When I met Chief Cabinet Secretary ISHIWATA, he said: "ANAMI and Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau MUTO both came to me and said: 'The present Cabinet must amicably withdraw at any cost. Because the diplomatic relations are already going ahead satisfactorily due to the Four Ministers' Conference and various other connections, we will say nothing more about foreign policy. However, in order to realize KONOYE's new political order, we would like the Premier to withdraw.' When I disapproved, the Vice Minister and the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau said: 'Then, there is nothing to be done but force the eventual resignation of the War Minister!" Saying this, they left.

On the afternoon of the following day, the meeting of the Four Ministers held. At that time, the Premier called the War Minister into a separate room and asked: "Are you aware of the circumstances surrounding the the visit of the Vice Minister and the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau to Chief Secretary ISHIWATA urging

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mass resignation of the Cabinet?" The War Minister declared: "Yes, I know. However, you must take their opinions as their personal opinions." The Premier asked: "Then what do you think?" The War Minister replied: "In the long run, I think it best that the Cabinet resign. However, this is still my personal opinion so----" He had added this, but the Premier was saying that it was certainly a ridiculous statement. I had heard all this from Navy Minister YOSHIDA; furthermore, YOSHIDA in concern added: "Isn't Lord Keeper of Privy Seal KIDO too deeply involved with the Army?" Navy Minister YOSHIDA was very concerned when he said: "An Imperial Visit is scheduled for the Combined Fleet on the 18th. If at that time, the political situation seems unsettled, shall we request a postponement?"

On the 13th, because the other (cabinet) ministers were of the opinion that MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of Privy Seal, had joined forces with Lord Keeper of Privy Seal KIDO in the overthrow of the Cabinet, I explained: "There are absolutely no such things in this present situation." When I spoke to Chief Secretary ISHIWATA, he said: "I would like to negoiate with KONOYE on his new political order and endeavor for the clearance of the uncertain atmosphere." However, on the Army side, the War Minister was sending notes to the Premier in a disagreeable tone as if he was desiring to resign. The Premier seemed to think it unpleasant.

On the 13th, I went to Okitsu and reported to the Prince all that had happened since my last visit. I spoke to him of KIDO's plan for the petitioning procedure for the succeeding cabinet; that is, the question of convening a meeting of the Privy Councillors and all the former Premiers. However, the

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Prince replied: "Since I do not quite understand,---." I could not hardly call it an assent. That which I had brought along as my plan, was that in the event the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is called in for an Imperial inquiry, he should first confer with the Genro at the Emperor's discretion. However, because of his old age, he should summon the President of the Privy Council and the former Premiers together, and seek their advice. After that he can confer with the Genro and submit his answers to the Emperor. The summons would be conveyed by the Grand Chamberlain at the Emperor's discretion. Eventually, all those present at the meeting will deliberate and those absent will have no voice. The meeting should be very informal and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is delegated the task of seeing to it that a unity of opinion is reached. If, however, there is a wide disagreement of opinion, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is to confer with the Genro and give his own opinion on the occasion of an Imperial inquiry. Of course, this is undertaken as the Lord Privy Seal's own responsibility. In addition, in contacting the Genro, depending on the indication of the proceedings at the Palace, the Lord Privy Seal will send his Chief Secretary if the proceedings are uncomplicated. If the necessity arises, the Lord Privy Seal will go himself. However, if at all possible, it would be more convenient if the Lord Keeper does not leave Tokyo. In the event of disagreement and disunity of opinion with the Genro, the Lord Privy Seal will again call the above mentioned people and seek a settlement. In conclusion, it is a method whereby the Lord Privy Seal will answer. The Prince answered, in connection with the above problems: "Only at times when it suits them do they make me responsible."

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However, after he had said this, he stated: "Well, why don't we leave it up to KIDO?"

After I returned to Oiso, I phoned KONOYE at Karuizawa and he seemed disturbed and was thinking of returning to Tokyo. He said: "If there are hopes of the government desiring to meet me about the new political order, it will be very good. This will give me some pretext for returning to Tokyo. How does it look?"

When I phoned the Premier about what KONOYE had just said, the Premier answered in a very emphatic tone: "Because it is clearly evident that there are already movements for the overthrow of the Cabinet, I am not thinking of meeting him. I also think it unnecessary for me to send Chief Secretary ISHIWATA to meet him." He seemed more or less dissatisfied, but when I phoned ISHIWATA about the Premier's conversation, ISHIWATA replied: "It is troubling to have the Premier speak so defiantly. After I speak with the Premier the first thing tomorrow morning, I will give you an answer. Please have him wait a little while."

Later, I spoke to ARITA and KODAMA, but they too were a little vague.

On the afternoon of the 14th, I received the following phone call from ISHIWATA: "I even had the Home Minister and the Foreign Minister come to the Premier's residence to study it at length. If we meet KONOYE now, he will be called an advocate of totalitarianism and various other names. We will be inconvenienced and it will not be at all beneficial to KONOYE. At any rate, I think it would be better if we do not meet him as things stand today. Therefore, there is no alternative except to leave the question of his return up to his own judgement."

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Prince Konoyo Proposed

I phoned KONOYE on the evening of the 14th and said: "If the government should meet you now, it would only complicate the picture more. Therefore, it would be best not to meet you." When KONOYE heard this, he spoke as if he was somewhat disturbed.

At noon on the 15th, I went to Zushi to speak with Chief Secretary to the Lord Privy Seal MATSUDAIRA. While we lunched together at the KAWASAKI Villa, we conversed about various matters. It seemed that relations between the government and the Army were greatly aggravated and acute.

In the afternoon, I called at KIDO's villa in Zushi, but he had just returned to the Hayama Palace. Because Chief of the General Staff, Prince KANIN, had called, KIDO had been summoned and we had missed each other. Because Mrs. KIDO asked me to wait awhile, I waited until 4 o'clock when both MATSUDAIRA and KIDO came home.

According to what I heard, the purpose of Prince KANIN's audience was in connection with the Southern (South Seas) Operations. The Emperor asked KIDO: "Have previous arrangements been made with the government in connection with the Southern (South Seas) Operations?" So, KIDO immediately called up the Foreign Minister in Tokyo and relayed the the question. The Foreign Minister answered: "That has already been decided by the Four Ministers' Conference and it has been recognized by the government."

At 6:00 p.m., I returned to Oiso and making arrangements beforehand with ISHIWATA, I phoned KONOYE and when I spoke along the same line as the day before, KONOYE was very dejected.

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Prince Konoye Proposed

At 9:15 p.m. on the 16th, MATSUDAIRA phoned that the Premier had an Imperial audience. MATSUDAIRA stated: "Because of divergence of opinion with the War Minister, the Premier sought a successor to the War Minister. However, it is very difficult to nominate a successor. Therefore, because it would be impossible to carry on with the present Cabinet, the Premier had reported his desire to resign. Thereupon, the War Minister submitted his resignation papers to the Premier because of a divergence of opinion with the Cabinet."

On the 15th, the day previous, the Premier had summoned the War Minister and said: "For the past several days, you have vigorously manuveured to overthrow the Cabinet and it is not necessary now to speak of the details. Because I am also a soldier and you are one, why don't you decide your attitude. I wish you'd resign if you wish and not resign if you do not desire to." The War Minister immediately submitted his resignation papers. The circumstances were that before the War Minister had submitted his resignation, the young militarists, thinking to force his resignation, had printed in the Asahi Shimbun that the War Minister was going to submit his resignation papers today.

Whereupon, the Lord Privy Seal, obtaining Imperial Sanction, gathered the President of the Privy Council and former premiers at 1:00 p.m. on the 17th to hold discussions on the leader of the next cabinet. The Emperor returned at 4:00 p.m. on the 17th..

On the previous day, I held a telephone conversation with KONOYE and he said persistently: "Even if I were to participate in this case, it will not yet be possible to form the new political order. The reason I had resigned

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as President of the Privy Council was in order to direct my efforts to the formation of this new political order. Therefore, it would not be reasonable if I were to be the Premier at this time. Furthermore, the responsibility for the overthrow of the cabinet lies with the Army, so I would like to see the Army take it over. How can we make this happen?" Therefore, I phoned Admiral OKADA and former Premier HIROTA. However, the Army clique agreed with KONOYE and said: "Because we want it that way, we will do something." But, when it came to a showdown, things did not seem to go that way.

I left Tokyo on the night of the 16th and arrived late at Okitsu. In the morning (17th) I met the Prince and told him that at 1:00 p.m., there was to be a meeting of the President of the Privy Council and the former Premiers and that the Emperor was returning that evening. If time allowed, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Privy Seal (MATSUDAIRA) may come before evening by order of the Emperor. Depending on circumstances, the Lord Privy Seal may come. I said: "In any case, there will be a phone call from the Grand Chamberlain, so I will mention it then." Thus I gave the Prince a generalized story and when I said that the situation seemed to be that KONOYE could not help but be the leader of the succeeding cabinet, the Prince said: "To attempt politics with such antiquated ideas as popularity at this time will be of no avail." The Prince did not wish to support KONOYE just to fail. "I am now an old man and I have been ill for some time past. Truthfully, I am unable to accurately understand what is going on in the world. If I, who do not understand, were to approve as if I knew, or if I were to furnish the material for answers to an Imperial

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inquiry, I would positively be disloyal. Therefore, I cannot say anything. I would like to be excused from answering this inquiry." Thus, nothing more came of it and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Privy Seal had dinner at the Prince's residence and went home.

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 371
(24 July 1940)

Second Konoye Cabinet Arrives

Translated by Lt. Hakuzo Nitta

About 6:30 p.m., I informed the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to that effect and he reported to the Emperor: "While Prince SAIONJI is speaking in this tone, it would be all the more unpleasant to seek his opinion further. I think it would be well if you just proceed in this manner. In the event Prince SAIONJI did not think it beneficial to the nation, he would have said so because Prince SAIONJI is well acquainted with KONOYE. However, since he only went to the extent of saying that he did not know, I do not believe it was such a very strong opposition. Therefore, I think it will be all right to proceed in this manner." The Emperor immediately accepted and had the Grand Chamberlain call KONOYE at 7:30 p. m. At 7:55, KONOYE called and at 8:12 he withdrew. After speaking with Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal KIDO about important matters, KONOYE left the Palace. After he returned to his home in Ogikubo, he decided on the War Minister, Navy Minister and the Foreign Minister and called these three together. They immediately scrutinized the basic national policy. If the three, with the Premier concur in their opinions, they will actually commence on the organization of a cabinet. As the result of the meeting of the Big Three of the Army, Lt. Gen. TOJO was recommended to KONOYE as a suitable successor to the War Minister. As Lt. Gen. TOJO was in Korea at that time, he was ordered to return on a plane. Unfortunately, because of a hurricane the plane had to turn back at the Straits of Korea so he was somewhat delayed. At about 4:00 p.m. on the 19th,

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the Premier, Navy, War and Foreign Ministers met at KONOYE's Ogikubo residence (of course they had not yet been installed) to exchange concrete opinions. Finally at 8:40 p.m., they reached unity of opinion and adjourned. Eventually, MATSUOKA Yosuke was to be Foreign Minister and YOSHIDA was to remain as Navy Minister Because the evening was quite late and since KONOYE was tired, it was decided to appoint the rest of the cabinet on the morning of the 20th. In all likelihood, the investiture ceremony is to take place by the evening of the 20th or by noon of the 21st.

When I phoned KONOYE on the afternoon of the 20th, he said: " Because MATSUOKA came out as if he advocated a Japanese-American War, the Navy Minister was aghast at first. However, he was finally placated when MATSUOKA came out with moderate arguments. But to say something which is out of line and scaring someone, is one of his weak points. Because the Vice Minister of Commerce and Industry is present, he is proving very helpful. I intend to appoint HOSHINO as the President of the Planning Board. It seems the attacks against MATSUOKA are quite boisterous. Because INUKAI is frequently coming to lend a helping hand, his coming is raising another problem and I am disturbed."

On the 21st, KONOYE stated: "In general, the Foreign Minister will be MATSUOKA; Home Minister, YASUI; Justice Minister, KAZAMI; Finance Minister, KAWADA; War Minister, TOJO; Navy Minister, YOSHIDA; Education Minister, HASHIDA (Principal of the First Higher School); Commerce and Industry Minister, KOBAYASHI Ichizo; Communications Minister, MURATA; HOSHINO will be Minister without Portfolio as well as the President of the Planning Board and for Chief Cabinet Secretary, TOMITA, who is the Governor of Nagano

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Prefecture, has been chosen. I think ABE, who is the present Chief of the Metropolitan Police, will be retained in office." Because he was presumably going to retain ISHIGURO as the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, he sent a wire to recall him as he was presently on a tour of Manchuria and Korea. He also sent a wire to KOBAYASHI, of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, who was passing through Manchuria on his return from Europe. They landed on the evening of the 22nd and immediately accepted when they met KONOYE at the Kazan Kaikan. At 7:00 p.m., KONOYE went to the Palace with the roster of his cabinet members and in rapid succession, the investiture ceremonies for cabinet members and those other than cabinet members were concluded by 9:30 p.m. Thus, everything was finally finished by about 9:30 on the night of the 22nd. When the Premier informed me of this late that night by phone, I immediately called the Prince about it.

During the morning of the 22nd, I conversed with the Prince on various matter. He was still concerned about diplomatic relations. He said, heaving a sigh of despair: "Just as an Emperor, TA Tsung (Taiso) of T'and (TO) was carrying out very good government and improving the nation, the Empress TSE Tien (Sokuten Buko) appeared on the scene and assassinated the learned scholars and carried on in a brutal manner. She eventually completely destroyed society. In a way, the Military can be likened to Empress TSE Tien (Sokuten Buko)."

At noon on the 23rd, I left for Tokyo and first of all, I called at the official residence of the

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Premier to offer my felicitations on the formation of the Cabinet. KONOYE said: "I had considerable trouble in organizing this cabinet; however, it was easier than organizing a headquarters for the formation of a Cabinet and operating in that manner. It was just that INUKAI appeared on the scene and it was annoying because some persons had various things to say about it. I was disgusted with SAIONJI Kinkazu. The reason I say this is because he brought along his own roster of cabinet members, and furthermore, he was accompanied by INUKAI. When I looked at the roster, I saw that INUKAI was listed as the Minister of Communications and even I was astonished."

When I questioned him further, he continued: "Because YASUI became the Home Minister, I thought it might present some difficulties. But, that does not seem to be borne out. The Communications Ministry seems to be rather confused, but because MURATA was gravely ill until just the other day, he cannot write without his hands shaking. In addition, because KAZAMI became the Minister of Justice, matters in the Ministry of Justice seem to be confused. Whereupon, I called UYEDA in and questioned him. He replied: 'Because it is a dispute between the public procurator and the judges, and matters are annoying among them, it is still best to appoint someone from the outside.' Because he said this vehemently, I appointed KAZAMI and I don't think much will come of it."

KONOYE said he would introduce me to his new Chief Cabinet Secretary, TOMITA, so he called TOMITA and we were introduced. TOMITA very politely said: "Let's be friends." He seemed very determined to do his utmost.

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KONOYE said: "I shall rely on you completely concerning the right wing." The Chief Secretary replied: "Won't it be best for the Premier not to become entangled with these rightists?" This was as if to say that he would be completely responsible for its handling.

On the way home, I stopped in at the private residence of former Premier YONAI and left my card. In the evening, I called on Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal KIDO and conversed lengthily on the situation. About an hour later, I went to the Kuwana and dined with MATSUDAIRA and went home late.

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Chapter 372
(30 July 1940)

Cabinet Assembled

Translated by Lt. Hakuzo Nitta

On the 23rd, I left my calling card at former Premier YONAI's home, but I was unable to meet him. Therefore, when I called on him on the morning of the 24th, I talked over various things with him. He said: "I don't care to include those former premiers who are not accorded treatment as such, in the discussion of the petition for the succeed ing cabinet. I think it much better to include only those former Premiers who are accorded this honor." Just then, President HARA of the Privy Council dropped in to pay his respects. He talked on various topics and went home a little before noon. He persistently said, in former Premier YONAI's presence: "It is certainly a disturbing society when even a man as powerful as YONAI is unable to do anything." He praised YONAI highly.

I stopped in at Oiso on some personal business for Prince Saionji and immediately proceeded to Okitsu. When I met the Prince on the morning of the 25th, he said: "Last evening, I listened to KONOYE's broadcast and his voice was very good. I could understand most of what he said, but I think the context was filled with paradoxes. In some ways, I couldn't understand any of it. If he could have done it a bit more skillfully....."

I returned to Tokyo on the express train Fuji. At noon on the 26th I went to the Horyu with MATSUDAIRA, ARITA and TANI. We conversed about various subjects while we dined. TANI said: "I have submitted my resignation papers." Subjects such as the next Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs is most likely OHASHI came up in the

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conversation and also that, SHIRATORI and SAITO Yoshie will probably become advisors to MATSUDAIRA.

I visited HOSOKAWA on the evening of the 26th and had dinner together with Mrs. KONOYE and other. On the way home, I escorted Mrs. KONOYE to the Japanese-style room of the Premier's official residence and met KONOYE for just a moment. I then said that it would be impossible without a KONOYE Cabinet. I did not say that it was absolutely impossible, but that it was the most sensible thing to do. I encouraged an increase in the wages of all government officials below State Minister. Foreign Minister MATSUOKA dropped in, but we missed each other. I perceived that KONOYE was very tired.

Early on the morning of the 27th, Minister of Commerce and Industry KOBAYASHI dropped in for a visit and spoke about various things. He said: "No plans whatsoever have been made by the Planning Board. I am very concerned about it."

On the same morning, KONOYE said, on the liason meeting between the government and the Imperial Headquarters which was held in the Palace and on the proceedings of the meeting held before the formation of the Cabinet: "I will speak with you at length later."

When I called on President of the Planning Board HOSHINO, I met Vice Minister of Commerce and Industry KISHI, who said: "Because alienation and libel are extremely violent recently, considerable caution must be exercised. Moreover, the usage of abusive language and unfounded rumors are numerous. We must be cautious of this." He departed after I promised to meet him again.

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Furthermore, I called on former Home Minister KODAMA and thanked him for all his kindnesses during his term of office. I also called on former Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal YUASA to convey my sympathies on his illness. I talked about the situation since I last met him. His opinion was: "I am considerably concerned about MATSUOKA and YASUI in connection with the present condition of foreign affairs and domestic affairs. I am somewhat concerned with KONOYE as Premier, KAZAMI as Minister of Justice, and KIDO; however, won't they be requesting the Emperor for amnesty about February of next year? This is very troublesome." He had a feeling of apprehension for the movements of the right wing and also for the attitude of the government and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on that.

SHODA Kazue and Vice Minister of Finance HIROSE came to dinner for the first time in a long while and we conversed on various topics. SHODA said: "This Cabinet has organized the Manchukuo Kyowakai (political party) in the Manchukuo Cabinet and there are still Communists behind it." He seemed concerned, so I replied: "There's no need for worring about it to that extent." SHODA continued: "I was the person who selected Finance Minister KAWATA. When I heard the story of who would be agreeable to KONOYE and suitable, I said KAWATA and thus, it was decided.

However, when I met KONOYE in the Japanese-style room of his official residence on the 29th, KONOYE said: "KAWATA was really my suggestion. From before,

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I had given much thought to him. I sent KAWARADA as my messenger during the night and he did not readily accept, but he finally gave his consent." So, the facts as given to me by SHODA previously, did not seem all factual. The nomination of Minister of Commerce and Industry KOBAYASHI was made by the present Vice Minister KISHI and no one else. Therefore, that which is gossiped by the people that Vice Minister KISHI desired to be the Minister of Commerce and Industry, and he was complaining because he could not, was just idle gossip. The fact that it was not true is easily recognizable. I spoke to KONOYE on the question of increasing the salaries. I said: "Because those salaried persons who receive less than ¥150 or ¥200 are prohibited by the government from receiving bonuses from their firms, they are hard-pressed to make a living. Because this situation cannot be overlooked, it is necessary that the government seek a solution. At the same time, it is nessary that the salaries of State Ministers and all other officials be increased." After I asked the Chief Secretary not to forget the problem of salary increases, the Four Ministers Conference, which we had decided to talk over liesurely before, and the state of affairs of the liason meeting between the government and the Imperial Headquarters held recently at the Palace, I departed.

Just as I was departing, I unexpectedly met the War Minister. I told him: "Please do your best." Furtherrore, I said: "If I called on you too frequently, I will interfere with your work, so I have been holding back....." He replied: "I will do all that is possible."

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Cabinet Assembled

Minister of Agriculture and Forestry ISHIGURO had returned from Manchukuo and had taken office 3 or 4 days before. Thus, it looked as if the Cabinet members were assembeled in general, although 3 of them held additional posts. Looking over the situation at the Foreign Ministry, it seems to be certain that SHIRATORI and SAITO would be advisors and OHASHI would be the Vice Minister. I heard this also from KONOYE. I could not help feeling apprehensive over the organization of the Foreign Ministry, but I felt that this was also inevitable.

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 373
(19 August 1940)

Four Ministers' Decision and Shimpeitai Incident

Translated by Lt. Hakuzo Nitta

The following was the result of the Four Ministers' Conference:

A. In order to evolve a policy for the disposition of the China Incident, and also for corresponding to the new world situation, the establishment and the strengthening of our war-time economy will be the basis of our domestic and foreign policy. Because of this, the government will assume leadership for all economic activities and its promotion to the utmost, except in cases of absolute necessity for the existence of the operating forces (military) to dispose of or assume leadership by itself.

B. World Policy

1. Corresponding to the sudden changes in the world situation, and in order to quickly establish a New Order for East Asia, we plan to strengthen the axis of Japan, Germany and Italy. We must act in concert and carry out various other important policies. We must anticipate the most opportune time in the world situation and not miss it; that is, as it concerns the method of strengthening the Axis and its time for realization.

2. A Non-Aggression Pact will be concluded with Russia by Japan, Manchukuo and Inner Mongolia (original parenthesis: length of effectiveness, five to ten years). Together with planning the immediate solution of pending questions, we will realize sufficient military prepared-

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ness to cope with Russia during the effectiveness of the Non-Aggression Pact.

3. In order to include the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese settlements in the neighboring islands and the Orient within the substance of the New Order in the Far East, positive arrangements will be undertaken. Moreover, we will endeavor to exclude ourselves from international conferences in reference to the above.

4. Even though we will avoid unnecessary collisions with the United States, as long as it concerns the establishment of a New Order in the Far East, we are firmly determined to eliminate any interference by show of power, and expect the realization of our policy.

The above were the items which were discussed by the Premier and the three State Ministers; MATSUOKA, YOSHIDA and TOJO; while the Cabinet was in the process of being organized. These were the fundamental policies for organizing the new Cabinet.

At the liaison meeting between the Grand Imperial Headquarters and the government during July, the points presented by the Grand Imperial Headquarters on the solution of the situation consistuent with the transition of world affairs, were as set forth in the policies as follows:

The Empire, faced with a peculiar state of world affairs, will improve its foreign situation by accelerating the settlement of the China Incident and together with this, it will seize the most opportune time to solve the problem of the South Seas Islands. In case

the disposition of the China Incident cannot be made as yet, the emphasis placed on the South Seas Islands by this change in policies, will be decided upon consideration of various domestic and foreign situations. The various preparations necessary for coping with the above items will be given the utmost acceleration.

THE ESSENTIAL POINTS

Article I.

In regard to the disposition of the China Incident, we will concentrate our collective strength on political and military strategy. We will especially reject acts of assistance by a third nation and will plan the prompt submission of the Chungking Regime by exerting all our efforts.

We will endeavor for the furtherance of the South Seas Islands policy by seizing the most opportune time and utilizing the changes in the situation.

Article II

In regard to the foreign policy, the objective, in general, is to accelerate the disposition of the China Incident and to seek the solution of the South Seas Islands problem as set forth in the following:

1. Emphasis is first placed on the policies towards Germany, Italy and Russia, especially in strengthening the political solidarity towards Germany and Italy. We plan to make leaping adjustments in our Russian relations.

2. Toward United States, we will maintain jusfiable contentions and a solemn attitude. Even though we will not refrain from boldly carrying out the policy deemed necessary by the Empire in spite of the inevitable

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and natural aggravation which would accompany it, we will always heed the actions of the United States. We plan to avoid the increase of friction by going out of our way.

3. The following applies to French Indo-China and Hongkong:

a. With French Indo-China, we shall expect the complete cessation of acts of assistance to CHIANG Kai-shek (original parenthesis: Kwangchow-wan included). Together with this, they must shoulder the replenishment of our troops, recognize the use of airfields and the passage of troops. They will endeavor for the acquisition of raw materials necessary to the Empire.

b. In regard to Hongkong, hand in hand with the absolute cutting-off of the route aiding CHINAG in Burma, we must drive ahead on various construction jobs just as we must first eradicate enemy sumpathizers.

c. In regard to the concessions, together with planning the eradication of enemy sympathizers, and the withdrawal of troops of belligerent countries, we will induce China to take back these concessions.

4. In regard to the Dutch East Indies, we will tentatively endeavor to secure vital resources through diplomatic negotiations.

5. If at all possible, we will act to annex the former German and French possessions in view of their strategic location through diplomatic negotiations.

6. In regard to other areas in the South Seas, through friendly negotiations, we plan to receive their cooperation in our construction projects.

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Article III

In regard to the leadership of the nation, just as it is necessary to realize the above mentioned plans, we will accelerate the completion of a defensive nation, dependent on the world situation, while organizing and guiding the various governmental agencies. Because of this, we anticipate the realization of the following items:

1. The realization of a powerful government.

2. Comprehensive motion for a general mobilization law.

3. The establishment of a war-time economy.

4. The accumulation of war materials and the increase of shipping tonnage. (Original parenthesis: To put into effect the maximum for advance importation and special importations and the stipulation of expenditures).

5. The expansion of production and the adjustment for repletion of armaments.

6. The raising of the national morale and the unification of public opinion.

The above were the particulars presented by the Grand Imperial Headquarters for the disposition of the present situation to the Supreme Command Office and the government. Because of its very importance, it was handed over for just the Premier and the Genro to see.

On August 2, I received a phone call from Vice-Minister of Justice MIYAKE that I was requested to appear as a witness at the trial of the Shimpeitai Incident at the Supreme Court. Previously, MIYAKE had told me about the 25 or 26 items of the summons. However, it was to

say disagreeable things about the Prince and other important officials and they had introduced evidence detrimental to the loyalty of Prince SAIONJI; that is, that the Prince was insincere to the nation. Because the Military had attempted to raise their own spirits, MIYAKE had asked the Chief Justice to summon me. From some quarter, I heard that the defendant had asked: "Please summon him", and the witnesses called, totaled 16 persons. Even though both former Lord Keepers of the Privy Seal, MAKINO and YUASA, may have been among those roquested, the Chief Justice rejected the request. However, it was later requested: "If these four persons are called, we will quietly undergo the trial." From the feeling that this trial, extending over seven years, could be swiftly finished, it was finally decided that Gen. MAZAKI, TOKUTOMI Iichiro, Ambassador SHIRATORI and I, would be summoned as a gesture of appeasement. On the 6th, I appeared at the Supreme Court at 9:30 a.m. and was asked about the 20 items concerning the Prince and the two items about myself until 11:30 a.m. (Original parenthesis: Refer to the following typed papers).

Witness: HARADA Kumao

INTERROGATION ITEMS

1. Do you know the facts and the reasons thereof, when Prince SAIONJI visited the Palace to pay his respects to the Emperor on September 1st, 1923, at the time of the Great Earthquake in the Kanto region?

2. Does the witness know the facts and the reasons thereof, when Prince SAIONJI went from his home in Suruga-dai to Okitsu with his lady-attendent, without visiting

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Emperor TAISHO at Hayama during his illness when the nation was gravely concerned, and only after public opinion became boisterous did he visit during the middle of December?

3. In March, 1934, President KURATOMI of the Privy Council resigned from his post and he recommended Vice-President HIRANUMA as his successor. The Premier recommended Baron IKKI Kitokuro who had resigned as Imperial Household Minister on February, 1933, and was available. At that time, Prince SAIONJI under the pretext of "celebrating the birthday of the Crown Prince", hurried to Tokyo. Even after he was settled in his residence at Surugadai, he did not repair to the Palace to celebrate the birthday, but on the very same day, he summoned Baron IKKI to his residence. They conferred and on the next day, the 5th, at 10:00 a.m., Baron IKKI became the President of the Privy Council. Despite the fact that it was the Crown Prince's first celebration of the Boys' Festival, Prince SAIONJI did not call at the Palace and only on the 8th, when he was leaving Tokyo, did he proceed to the Palace. Does the witness know the facts and reasons for the above?

4. Does the witness know that SAIONJI Kinmochi visits the Great Shrine of Ise, Kashiwara Shrine, MEIJI Shrine, MOMOYAMA Imperial Mausoleum and the TAMA Imperial Mausoleum? If this is not a fact, what are the reasons and causes?

5. After the death of the Genro; Prince YAMAGATA Aritomo; Prince MATSUKATA Masayoshi asked Prince SAIONJI how it would be to answer the Emperor's inquiry on the choice of Premier for succeeding Cabinets by the result of the deep and profound consideration by four of them;

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MATSUKATA, SAIONJI, Count YAMAMOTO Gombei, and the President of the Privy Council at the time, instead of answering the Emperor's inquiries by the two who were left because of its presumptiousness. For some reason, it is said that SAIONJI immediately rebuffed the idea. Because MATSUKATA died soon after that, Prince SAIONJI actually became the only selector of the Premiers for succeeding Cabinets. (Original parenthesis: Parts of the above facts were heard by defendant YASUDA from one of the witnesses). Does the witness know the facts and their reasons?

6. Before the conclusion of the so-called London Disarmament Treaty, as soon as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MAKINO saw that the treaty could not be signed because of the stubborn opinion of Chief of the Naval General Staff KATO, MAKINO attempted to hold down KATO through YAMAMOTO Gombei and he sent his son-in-law YOSHIDA Shigeru to YAMAMOTO. However, Count YAMAMOTO perceived his intention and made it impossible for YOSHIDA to mention the treaty. Did the witness report the above to Prince SAIONJI knowing the facts?

7. When the requests for instructions concerning the London Treaty came, Chief of the Naval General Staff KATO tried twice, on March 31st and April 1st, to make a direct appeal to the Emperor. At that time, Count MAKINO Shinken worked through Grand Chamberlain SUZUKI on Chief Aide-de-Camp NARA and had the appeal intercepted. Did the witness, knowing the above, convey it to Prince SAIONJI?

8. At the time of the London Disarmament Conference, United States Ambassador CASTLE stopped in Hawaii on his return from Japan and delivered a speech. In this speech, he hinted that he had obtained the tacit approval of

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Lord Privy Seal MAKINO, and said: "The understanding of high Japanese court officials has been gained to the United States proposals." Did the witness, knowing the above, report it to Prince SAIONJI?

9. When Premier HAMAGUCHI Yuko tendered his resignation on Nov. 14, 1930, Grand Chamberlain SUZUKI paid a visit to Prince SAIONJI concerning the petition for a leader to the succeeding Cabinet. On his return, he granted some news reporters an interview and said: "Watch my face for the man to receive the Imperial command." Because of this, ARAKAWA Seiichi, 1st Lt., Infantry, petitioned the Throne, reported that SAIONJI, MAKINO and SUZUKI had encroached upon the supreme command, and committed suicide. Did the witness, knowing the above, report it to Prince SAIONJI?

10. On July 31, 1932, when the ceremonies marking the 20th anniversary of the Demise of Emperor MEIJI had ended, Count TANAKA Koken resigned from all his honorary positions and retired. Moreover, he suggested to Count MAKINO that he also retire because he could not go on forever as an Imperial assistant. However, Count MAKINO refused to do this saying that there was no successor. Did the witness, knowing the above, report it to Prince SAIONJI?

11. At the time of the Sakurada-mon Incident in 1932, Count MAKINO was at his villa in Kamakura. Only after he was told by a courier, did he hurriedly return to Tokyo and proceed to the Palace. Knowing this, did the witness report this at any time to Prince SAIONJI?

12. At the unprecedented maneuvers of the Imperial Navy held by Imperial Command in August, 1933, and also

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at the Army maneuvers held by Imperial Command in October, 1933. Count MAKINO did not accompany the Emperor. At any time, did the witness report this and the reasons therefore to Prince SAIONJI?

13. At the time Premier HAMAGUCHI invited Chief of the Naval General Staff KATO to his official residence at 8:00 a.m., April 1, 1930, to obtain his approval on the instructions in response to the request for the London Naval Treaty, OKADA Keisuke, who had no business there, was present. Furthermore, OKADA said to KATO: "Since the government is adopting these instructions, there is nothing the Navy can do about it. How would it be for the Navy to recognize these instructions and then adopt other supplementary plans?" KATO announced his absolute opposition to this and took his leave. However, he recognized the instructions under the pretext that the Navy's approval had been obtained and we saw the conclusion of the treaty. Knowing this, did the witness at any time report this to Prince SAIONJI?

14. On February 27, 1935, OKADA Keisuke alluded to MINOBE's Emperor Organ Theory at the meeting of the Budget Committee of the House of Representatives in his capacity as Premier. He declared four times: "Doctor MINOBE's ideas on national structure are no different from ours." In addition, Premier OKADA declared: "Dr. MINOBE's idea on national polity and mine are identical after I read the introduction of his 'Commentary on the Constitution.'"

The following are quoted from this 'article by article commentary on the Constitution': "If it is interpreted that unlimited authority is vested in the Emperor by our

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national polity, there is no greater mistake than this." "Those who have, in the past, studied the interpretation of the Japanese Constitution, have frequently maintained that it was based on principles such as the divinity of Imperial Sovereignty in consideration of Japan's traditional national polity. Because of this, many errors have been made in its interpretation." "The Emperor relies on the opinion of the State Ministers in carrying out his sovereign power." "If the State Ministers believe it is necessary to act, from the standpoint of his responsibility and for the benefit of the Nation, and requests Imperial sanction and if it were not accepted, the State Ministers naturally have to resign. Accordingly, even if a caution was appended to the opinion, it would cause a complicated situation such as the cause for the breakdown of the Cabinet if the sanction is rejected." "The State Ministers, in all cases, must shoulder their responsibilities; they cannot be freed from the responsibilities because of an Imperial order. Therefore, it is not always necessary to comply with an Imperial order." "Because assistance implies advice to avoid errors, even if it is an Imperial order, if the order is a violation of the Constitution or law, or if the State Minister believes that it is not beneficial to the Nation, the State Minister cannot comply with it." Thus, it is expressing ideas of insubordination. Did the witness report this to Prince SAIONJI when he knew that OKADA had entered the government of the nation with such ideas? If you did, what was Prince SAIONJI's opinion on this? And, if he took no action to settle this, what was Prince SAIONJI's reason?

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15. Did the witness, knowing that OKADA Keisuke prolonged his life, at the time of the Feb. 26 Incident, as Premier, by taking such a cowardly attitude, report this to the Prince?

17. Did the witness, knowing that OKADA Keisuke and SUZUKI Kantaro devised and conspired the establishment of the ABE and YONAI Cabinets, report this to the Prince?

18. We have been told that the witness planned the establishment of the YONAI Cabinet together with Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal YUASA. Is that true?

19. It is said that OKADA Keisuke vigorously schemed the appointment of SUZUKI Kantaro as the Vice-President of the Privy Council. Did the witness, knowing the above facts, report this to Prince SAIONJI?

20. It is said that the witness unreservedly declared: "While my eyeballs remain black, I shall never permit the establishment of a military alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy." Is the above statement true and what are the reasons?

21. We have been told that the witness took out a life insurance policy with an American life insurance firm amounting to several million, saying: "My life will not be long; I don't know when I may be killed." Is the above true and if so, what are the reasons?

22. Does the witness know the reasons why SAIONJI Kimmochi; MAKINO Shinken; SHIDEHARA Kijuro; WAKATSUKI Reijiro; SUZUKI Kantaro; YONAI Mitsumasa; ARITA Hachiro and MINOBE Tatsukichi have not abandoned their pro-British principles even to this day?

23. What are the witness' views on the Shimpeitai Incident and other situations mentioned above? What does

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the witness think about the defendant's opinion that the pro-British ruling class of the witness provoked today's crisis in domestic and foreign affairs?

In regard to the first question, I answered: "I became attached to Prince SAIONJI in the late spring of 1926. Because I had no connection with the Prince on Sept. 1, 1923, I do not know anything about that time. However, I cannot believe that he did not repair to the Palace to pay his respects to the Emperor. I do know that the Prince experienced the earthquake at Gotemba and then returned to Okitsu."

In regard to the second question, I answered: "After Emperor TAISHO's suffering became greater, and even before that, Prince SAIONJI felt great concern and he or Hachiro (his son) maintained contact with Hayama. Prince SAIONJI knew all there was to be known about the Emperor's illness. Toward the end of November, he visited Hayama from Okitsu and was received in audience by the Empress. He went to the Emperor's sickbed and offered his sympathies. On the train during the trip back, the Prince said: "With the Emperor's condition so bad, I don't know what will happen. Therefore, I would like to rent a home close to the Emperor's Detached Palace at Hayama. Please do something about it." I immediately rented Baron SHIDEHARA's villa in Kotsubo and Prince SAIONJI moved in about Dec. 2. I went to the Detached Palace every day and maintained contact with the Grand Chamberlain and others of the Imperial circle and reported to the Prince. The Prince, at times, went himself. After he saw that the Accession Ceremony was completed after the death of the Emperor, he returned to Okitsu."

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In regard to the third question, I said: "I don't know anything about it."

On the fourth, I said: "He has gone to Kyoto and visited the Momoyama Imperial Mausoleum three or four times since I have been with him. I accompanied him on his visits to the Meiji Shrine and the Tama Imperial Mausoleum, so I know them to be facts. However, the Prince did not propagandize his visits in the newspaper nor did he speak of these visits in public; therefore, even if he visited the Momoyama Imperial Mausoleum in Kyoto, only the papers in and around Kyoto noted the fact. Thus, I think it not unreasonable that the general public did not know about them."

On the fifth question, I answered: "I don't know anything about that. However, I accidentally heard talks of whether or not to increase the number of Genro when HIRATA Tosuke was the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Count HIRATA said: 'No selection of Genro, aside from those who sat in on the inner council at the time of the Meiji Restoration, will be made. I remember that there was such a promise made among the Genro while Emperor MEIJI was still living. Prince SAIONJI is the last of the Genro.' Aside from this I know nothing about it."

The sixth question I answered thus: "I knew that YOSHIDA had sent Count YAMAMOTO, as the senior in the Navy, to explain the contents of the London Treaty. At that time YOSHIDA Shigeru was Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, but he received appointment as the Minister. I also heard that Count YAMAMOTO was of the same opinion as the government plan. Aside from that, I don't know

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anything."

On the seventh question, I said I didn't know anything about it. I answered the same on the 8th, 9th and 10th questions. The same on the 12th question with the addition that I said that I knew that Count MAKINO did not accompany the Emperor because of his illness. Aside from this, I said I knew nothing. In regard to the 13th question, I heard from Premier HARAGUCHI at the time: "Please await the Chief of the Naval General Staff's concurrence. We have finally made it possible for the instructions in response to a request to be sent." On the 14th, 15th, 16th and even the 17th, I said that I knew nothing about it. On the 18th question I said that there were absolutely no such things. On the 19th question I received the report from President of the Privy Council HARA: "Because I desire to have Admiral SUZUKI Kantaro as the Vice President of the Privy Council, I spoke to the Premier and obtained SUZUKI's consent." On the 20th question, I said that there is absolutely no such thing. On the 21st question, I said that if it is necessary, I request their investigation. I said that I knew nothing about both the 22nd and 23rd questions. On the 23rd question, especially, I said I had many ideas, but it would not be proper for me to talk or express my opinion about such from my standpoint. So please excuse me from answering that question. I obtained the permission of the Chief Justice. After that, I was queried variously by the defendants, but it did not amount to much. At 11:30 a.m., I departed from the court and returned home.

On the 7th, I went to the Prince's place and

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related all about the circumstances about the Supreme Court and the situation thereafter. On August 8th, I went to Tokyo and met KIDO at HOSOKAWA's home. KIDO said: "Foreign Minister MATSUOKA went to Hayama and submitted a matter to the Emperor for two hours on the promise of one hour. Listening from the next room, it seemed just as if MATSUOKA was lecturing to the Emperor. Later, when I was received in the Imperial presence, the Emperor said: 'The Foreign Minister gave me an introduction to foreign affairs. His arguments are good, but their realization would be fairly difficult.'" Even KIDO was troubled by MATSUOKA.

When I met KONOYE at HOSOKAWA's home on the 12th, he said: "I am going to unify the information bureau of the War, Navy, and Foreign Ministries and consolidate it as the information bureau of the Cabinet. I shall make ITO Nobumi the chief of the Information Bureau. When I attempted to send Gen. KOISO to the Dutch East Indies as a special envoy, he put a condition on it. He wanted permission to go on a battleship, and in case an emergency arises, can he fire and destroy them. He said he cannot accept unless this condition was recognized. Since the firing of a gun is a serious thing, both the Army and Navy hesitates in approving it. This is the present situation."

On the 13th, the Prince said, when I went to his home and talked about various things: "This situation in the world is being aggravated by those using the name of the Imperial Family and God as a figurehead. Isn't the situation becoming such that KONOYE might eventually have to resign just as he has organized his men? Does he have

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the determination to remain firm and take resolute actions? Since KONOYE did appear on the scene, he must, at least, leave an achievement for the records, such as bringing control over the Army. I am concerned about that portion."

On the 17th, I went back to Tokyo and again met KIDO at HOSOKAWA's home. When I spoke to him about the points Prince KONOYE was anxious about, KIDO replied: "I don't think KONOYE will break down after he has organized his Cabinet as the Prince says. We are also concerned about the points Prince SAIONJI is anxious about. I doubt if it will be like the last time since he attained considerable experience in his previous Cabinet. Even if he were to resign, won't he resign after considerable tenaciousness? In return, we can expect nothing very spectacular from KONOYE."

Capt. TAKAGI of the Navy, who came to my home, said: "Because of the Navy Minister's request that I maintain contact between the Navy and the Cabinet on the problem of the new organization, and lend a hand in the Bureau of Naval Affairs, is there anything that I should know about this new organization? I am presently an instructor of military science at the Navy College." I answered: "I don't think it likely that the government has formulated anything definite as yet. However, wouldn't it be all right if you met President HOSHINO of the Planning Board and discuss it with him? I would be glad to introduce you to him. At the same time, you should look over the documents which I received from KONOYE concerning the general essentials of the new organization and documents concerning the applications of the Constitution."

Because the present Navy Ministry's organization is different from the leadership of the previous ministry, which could be seen by looking at the Minister and the Vice-Minister, the Army was somewhat belittling the Navy. They had taken the attitude of 'just follow in my footsteps' and the situation was such that the Navy was meekly following the Army's course. After Captain TAKAGI met the leaders of the Navy Ministry and finding them quite beneath his expectations, he came again to my place and said, in concern: "It is truly a miserable situation. It is altogether different from the combination of YONAI and YAMAMOTO. Can't you think of even one thing which can be done?" I urged him to confer with OSHIMA and study the plans which had been given to me by KONOYE.

Whenever KONOYE approached the Emperor on the subject of the application of the Constitution, the Emperor had replied: "Will it be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution?" At last, KONOYE could stand it no longer and put into writing that he is doing nothing in conflict with the Constitution and I received a copy of it. According to KONOYE's version, he went to Hayama on the 16th and he showed his document to KIDO before he presented it to the Emperor. KIDO stated that particular emphasis seemed to be placed on the explanation of the management of money circulation in the 8th and other Articles of the Constitution; that is, in regard to the management of the financial administration and in case of emergencies. Because it would be unpleasant to give the Emperor the idea that the Army was going to do something or any such feeling of uneasiness, KIDO told KONOYE to rewrite it. Cautioned

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thus, KONOYE returned without presenting his writing.

According to KIDO, KONOYE heard from someone that iron could be obtained by the use of electrical machinery and he mentioned it to the Emperor as his pet idea. The Emperor replied: "KONOYE is persistently stating that he will get steel with electricity, but in the first place. we cannot get the iron ore. When the manufacture of machinery and the importation of raw materials is not possible, its realization would be difficult even if there is such a process." While KIDO laughed, he said: "The Emperor is a little smarter than KONOYE" and he praised the wisdom of the Emperor. He was paying him absolute homage.

After Captain TAKAGI spoke with HOSHINO on the 18th, he came to my home and said: "The so-called new order seems to be the consolidation of HITLER's Fuhrer system and the actions of the Kyowakai of Manchukuo, and therein lies many problems. HOSHINO was unable to answer when I questioned him about two or three points. Furthermore, becasue the most difficult plans have not been tackled by the government, they say that they will formulate one at the time of the meeting of the preparatory committee. However, it is basically an imitation of the German set-up, and I believe it is going to give the public a feeling of grave doubt." Many of the Navy men had asked about this and they had not been able to pierce the core even though they were generally aware of it. However, Captain TAKAGI had served on the Naval General Staff for many years and he had studied the phenomenon of Germany, and because of this, he finally abruptly asked about it. I was frightened no little

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when I learned the unexpected duplicity of danger in the contents of the writings explained to the Emperor and the plans for the 'new order' as investigated by the Planning Board by HOSHINO. I was questioned by members of the House of Peers and others about this 'new order', but its explanation is very difficult. Eventually, what the public is criticising and that KONOYE is labouring so hard over, are the same. I think that the leaders of the Army are showing concern about some of these points.

KIDO said, about MATSUOKA: "When MATSUOKA attempted to send KOISO as special envoy to the Netherlands East Indies, the newspapers got ahold of the story. Because it had leaked out, German Ambassador OTT, in grave concern, hurriedly came over. The leakage was accidental, but from OTT 's action, it was a great feat in discovering Germany's counter-plan regarding this. It was an accidental achievement. It was even mentioned to the Emperor, but he only laughed. MATSUOKA is really a troublesome person."

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 374 (A)
(1 September 1940)

Koiso Disagrees with Matsuoka

Translated by Lt. Norio Morihara

I met KIDO on August 21st, and he said: "Foreign Minister MATSUOKA went to Hayama today, and he stopped over at my place on his return. According to MATSUOKA, Gen. KOISO claimed that the Army and Navy were not in favor of KOISO's going abroad and KOISO wanted to resign so MATSUOKA requested KOISO to meet the Premier before he did that. MATSUOKA also met Premier KONOYE and asked him to encourage KOISO once more. If KOISO still insisted on resigning, it would be better to solve the problem right there."

I met Captain TAKAGI (Navy) on the 22nd, and the matter of the first meeting of the Preparations Committee was brought out. TAKAGI said: "The Committee seemed to be consisted largely of men with Rightist tendencies. The Navy intercepted a Dutch wireless report and learned that the Dutch would not present an agremens to Gen. KOISO. The young Naval officers with theories of southern expansion are objecting to KOISO on the grounds that his attitude is one of excessive self desires." (Concerning this matter of the agremens, I reported the full details to Premier KONOYE by telephone when I returned to Oiso.)

According to TAKAGI, both the Army and Navy were worried over the possible resignations of the Chiefs of the Army and Naval General Staffs. The Chief Cabinet Secretary had requested TAKAGI to work for the early opening of the Grand Imperial Headquarters Liaison Conference. However, the present conditions are such that the two organs of supreme command are led by Imperial

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Princes and the two Deputy Chiefs are something like robots. Actually, this conference was one of mere formalities comprised of young Staff Officers, it is not possible to hold a liaison conference of the Grand Imperial Headquarters in which anything concrete is accomplished. At any rate, nothing will be accomplished until the two Princes, who are the respective heads, should resign and men capable of handling the jobs are substituted. TAKAGI was worried about such things.

Concerning the retention of the Navy Minister -- MIKAMI Taku and HAYASHI Masayoshi, during the May 15 Incident, visited the official residence of Prince KONOYE and announced that they were employees of HOSOKAWA's household. When KONOYE met them, he found out that it was they, instead of employees of HOSOKAWA. The pair insisted that TOYODA be appointed instead of retaining YOSHIDA, whereupon KONOYE replied: "I cannot designate the Navy Minister. However, I am able to impose the conditions. My two conditions would be the appointment of one who could cooperate with the Army and one who could preserve unity within the ranks. How about it?" They replied: "Those two conditions are satisfactory. If that's the case; TOYODA will probably appear," and returned. As a result, these conditions were advanced to the Navy, whereupon former Minister YOSHIDA was retained. These two (MIKAMI and HAYASHI) stormed into Prince KONOYE's home and demanded that the retention of YOSHIDA was outrageous. KONOYE replied that he imposed these conditions because they were approved by the two, and said that the retention of

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YOSHIDA was not his responsibility. Rather than that, this was proof of the impotency of the two. He sent them home after saying this. I heard all of this in detail from Captain TAKAKI.

I visited the Prince at Okitsu on the morning of the 23rd and related everything to him in minute detail. When I was finished, the Prince expressed his desires in this manner: "I want you to caution KIDO thoroughly in regard to this. The Emperor is fully aware of past events -- in other words, His Majesty is thoroughly familiar with the historical background of various issues. Therefore, even if the Ministers and so forth should make various reports based on their individual calculations, there are times when they are in great error. At times, the Emperor possesses more facts by which to make decisions. Many times, it is difficult to make correct decisions concerning the current happening by the happening itself. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal must be fully aware of such things when listening to such problems or he may make a mistake. Both Emperor MEIJI and the present Emperor have a good understanding and remembrance of past happenings. Although I believe that men like KIDO are conscious of this, please caution him again when you meet him."

I returned to Tokyo on the 24th. Since I learned that Premier KONOYE had cancelled his trip to Karuizawa because of a cold and was staying in Ogikubo, I called him by phone. Premier KONOYE requested that I come over since he would be in all day.

I proceeded to KONOYE's residence and talked to him from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. KONOYE said:

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Koiso Disagrees with Matsuoka

"It was very good that the current trip of Gen. KOISO was cancelled. However, KOISO's attitude is very suspicious. There are numerous mysterious aspects concerning the attitude of Military Affairs Bureau Chief MUTO. I concluded that this was an all out effort to bring about the downfall of the Cabinet. It was MATSUOKA who recommended YANAGAWA and Gen. KOISO, and when MATSUOKA met KOISO for the first time, MATSUOKA showed him his writings concerning his diplomatic policies and his own opinions. He also made various verbal explanations and Gen. KOISO expressed complete approval of everything. Therefore, MATSUOKA requested that KOISO go to the Dutch East Indies. After this request was made of him, KOISO suddenly injected his stipulations. The results were such as we have now, and KOISO's attitude is very queer. The Army and Navy are keenly desirous of deciding on an immediate successor, now that KOISO has been abandoned. As a result, I decided to despatch Minister of Commerce and Industry KOBAYASHI. Concerning the current proclamation of the New Order, the Ministers and Vice Ministers are already familiar with the contents of this proclamation. I wrote strongly that this was neither Nazism nor Fascism, but Chief of Military Affairs Bureau MUTO deleted all of this and returned it to the Cabinet. I had the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet rewrite this to conform to the original manuscript and instructed him to thrust it back to the Army again. All MUTO's actions are very suspicious." KONOYE continued in an anxious tone: "Looking at such happenings, I wonder if this Cabinet won't fall in about ten months."

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Concerning INUKAI, KONOYE said: "He is like a puppet of Col. IWAKURO of the Army. It seems that he was reporting everything by telephone to him from his office. Dur' g the formation of the cabinet, the men close to me were conversing noisily in the dining room. I thought it was odd when I saw INUKAI, SAIONJI Kinkazu, USHIBA and MATSUMOTO there. I had made various telephone calls from my office in order to give ministerial posts to people whom they disapproved, and when they discovered this, they were very dissatisfied and had gathered together to discuss this. INUKAI reported each happening to IWAKURO by telephone and he was a big nuisance. Since they were becoming too noisy, I went into the dining room and told them: 'Why are all of you gathered here anyway? Didn't you tell me repeatedly to execute things by myself because matters would not be settled if there were too many discussions? I also had that in mind so I made telephone calls to various places from my office and carried out the necessary work. It is too selfish of you to expect me to discuss matters only with yourselves without conferring with others and to raise a howl of protest when men not to your liking are chosen. It is my business whether I confer with you or not. If you're going to raise a disturbance around here — please go home!' I rebuked them fiercely. They became silent then, and didn't utter a word. A little while later, SAIONJI Kinkazu and INUKAI made up a roster of the cabinet members and saying that this is just a rough suggestion, they brought it to me. According to it, MATSUMOTO Joji was the Foreign Minister and INUKAI Ken was the Minister of Communications. I

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was thoroughly disgusted with him. During the first KONOYE Cabinet, I had a slight tendency to inflate their ego, and the Chief Cabinet Secretary had confided everything to them. The Army had said about me: 'The Premier is loose mouthed,' but actually, that was not the case. I believe that the ones close to me revealed information which they obtained from KAZAMI, and this was erroneously construed as being issued by myself in the great number of cases. Former Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff TADA was on intimate terms with KAZAMI, and in this respect, he disclosed Army secrets to KAZAMI, who in turn disclosed it to the secretaries of that time. I believe that this was the big reason why they began to have illusions of grandeur." KONOYE expressed his bitter discontentment and I almost felt sorry for him.

KONOYE continued: "Foreign Minister MATSUOKA is very cautious of INUKAI and claims that he is a villain. In regard to current diplomatic posts, MATSUOKA wants Lt. Gen. TATEKAWA in Soviet Russia, Viscount SOGA in France, MATSUMOTO Joji in America, and SAIONJI Kinkazu in Thailand. TATEKAWA might accept it. However, SOGA will refuse it for reasons of health. MATSUMOTO has refused to go to America and SAIONJI has declined to go to Thailand. Future actions are a problem. There was a note from CHIANG Kai-shek to Lt. Col. SUZUKI through SUNG Tzu-liang (Younger brother of T.V. Soong) which said: 'Delete the part of your statement in which you say that you will not negotiate with CHIANG Kai-shek.

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If you will do so, we will consider the problem of peace.' I replied that it was not possible to cancel it. USUI and DOBASHI of the General Staff Headquarters, and SUZUKI whom I mentioned, came and requested that I write a personal letter. I wrote a letter addressed to CHIANG, but they said: 'We will be troubled if the authenticity of this letter is questioned. Please take a picture with us.' Therefore, I had the photographers from the General Staff Headquarters take a picture of myself and Lt. Col. SUZUKI. SUZUKI brought this letter and picture to ITAGAKI (in Changsha). Chief of the General Staff Headquarters ITAGAKI and CHIANG Kai-shek are to meet soon. At that time, the letter is to be forwarded to CHIANG. Japan may be fooled --- just as HIDEYOSHI was fooled long ago. The letter may be used for propaganda purposes to show how much Japan has weakened but if this should happen it cannot be helped."

Concerning the happenings during the organization of the Cabinet, KONOYE said: "The reason TOMITA was appointed as the Chief Cabinet Secretary was because he was a promising young man among the group close to me. Therefore, I thought that he would be best suited to control this group." KONOYE was concerned to that extent about the growth of men close to him. This was just as I had formerly imagined.

I met Captain TAKAGI on the train on my return from Oiso on the 24th. The following was TAKAGI's tale: "INUKAI Ken came around to Naval circles and said that the army and Navy had to work together." His reason was that recently Premier KONOYE was beginning to obstruct men close to him.

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GOTO Ryunosuke was the only one included in the drafting of the bill; there was internal strife; things were not easily concluded. If things continued in this way, it would lead to some serious national disturbance. Therefore, in order to surpress this, it was necessary for the Army and Navy to cooperate with each other. That is what INUKAI is insistently saying to various people." I thought this was a difficult problem, and after I returned, I immediately called KONOYE on the phone and reported everything to him.

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KONOYE said: "Will you please mention it to the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet too? INUKAI comes to the Chief Cabinet Secretary's office almost every day. He is an odd fellow."

On the next day, the 25th, I called the Chief Cabinet Secretary by phone and told him of my previous night's conversation with KONOYE. The Chief Cabinet Secretary was very apologetic and said: "Nowadays, when INUKAI comes to the Cabinet, he invariably brings along Maj. TADA. He says various things, but I understand everything now. I will be careful from now on."

I remembered at that time that someone had come to my place and said: "It's Maj. TADA that is influencing the Chief Cabinet Secretary." Therefore, I called the Chief Cabinet Secretary again by telephone and asked him: "This is just for your information, but someone whom I cannot remember said: 'It was Maj. TADA who was influencing Chief Cabinet Secretary TOMITA.' Aren't you on close terms with TADA?" TOMITA replied: "Are you kidding? INUKAI is the one who has been bringing him along to meet me. I did not know TADA before." I replied that it was all I wanted to know and cut off our telephone conversation.

I returned to Tokyo early on the morning of the 26th. I talked with Minister of Agriculture and Forestry ISHIGURO for about an hour and a half from 8:30 a.m. at the Tokyo Club. We talked of recent cabinet changes; the Emperor's thoughts and opinions concerning the happenings around him; the anxieties of the Genro and officials close to the Emperor;

the attitude of KONOY ; reasons for the appointment of KIDO as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, etc. I knew ISHIGURO intimately from childhood and he was quite an upstanding character, so I described everything to him. I also told him in detail of KONOYE's weaknesses. ISHIGURO lamented present conditions and was very sympathetic with the Emperor's feelings.

ISHIGURO said: "I mentioned in the Cabinet conference, that under the new order, the people would be able to gain a certain degree of guarantee in their daily living and that various aspects of their lives would become slightly easier. However, the fuel problem will again be revived at the end of this year and the solution to the rice problem is unknown as yet. There are various problems such as these. When things become more serious, we will have to make strong resolutions. I said such things at the Cabinet conference and the members became very quiet and didn't say a thing. I have a better understanding of conditions, now that I have listened to you, and I will exert my utmost endeavors." We parted around ten o'clock and I came home.

When I was about to come to Tokyo on the morning of the 26th, there was a communique from the Navy through Captain TAKAGI which stated that Vice Admiral NOMURA, Madam CHIANG Kai-shek, and KUNG Hsiang-hsi (H.H. KUNG) would go by boat to Swatow for conferences. I notified KONOYE of this by telephone, but he said that he wanted to hear of it in more complete detail. I had Captain TAKAGI go to the Chief Cabinet Secretary's residence so he could talk to him for a second time but this also seems to be destined to end without taking on concrete forms.

I met Captain TAKAGI on the train and learned from him of the conversation between Military Affairs Bureau Chief MUTO

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and Capt. TAKAGI which took part at the meeting of the Preparations Committee. TAKAGI related the following: "According to MUTO's story, the leading element of the New Order, regardless of its title, was the political unification of the various parties. Therefore, MUTO said it was not desirable that the Army participate in such movements possessing such characteristics. However, the opinions changed at this time, and when practical applications were considered, it was found necessary to delegate strong political powers to the nucleus of the new order. In order to do this, it was necessary to utilize party members. The opinions of a great number of other political party directors are that the Military, bureaucrats, and people must unite in order to c nstruct a country with powerful national defense as clearly contained in the proclamation of the Premier in contrast to former times when there were various disagreements concerning theoretical policies. This is not the struggle for selfish interests. This includes former politics, economy, education, and all other aspects of national life. In spite of all this, this present movement is not one which arose from the masses. Rather than that, this is one in which the Military and the bureaucrats are doing the leading and they are forced to spread the movement by themselves. From these standpoints, the core of the new order is not appropriate. The fact that the Army and Navy will lead the people does not signify that this new movement will succeed. On the contrary, there are apprehensions that this movement will be rendered impotent. Thus, in this manner, the other directors were all in agreement with my proposal. These are all superficial reasons and the inner purposes of the Army's contentions must be clarified. The Army is exerting all its efforts to induce the dissolution of already

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existing political parties. The Sokushin Doshikai (Promotion Association) which had been dissolved, does not possess a great amount of authority in the Preparations Committee. As a result, they have become very fidgety and uneasy. The Army planned to unite the political parties into one unit and to create a so called 'Pro-Army Party' (Shingunto). They planned to lead them along according to Army desires. Their plan received a blow when Premier KONOYE's proclamation was published in the papers. KONOYE got the jump on the Army, whereas they had planned to utilize him as a robot."

TAKAGI sounded slightly disappointed when he said this, and continued: "(KONOYE had definitely stated that he could not curry favour with the Army and the Shingunto was hit by this.) Thus in this way, the Army was criticized from the Association because of its movements to intervene. On the other hand, the Premier had advanced a 'system of one country and one political party'. They were sandwiched between these two, and were in a dilemma. Therefore, they were forced to resort to reverse theories recognizing the new order as a whole unit and to concede the necessity of using party members in important posts." That was Captain TAKAGI's story.

I went with a large group of our relatives to Hakone on the 28th and 29th. I visited IKEDA at the Fujiya Hotel and related recent events to him. IKEDA kept on talking of the military alliance with Thailand which I had heard from Captain TAKAGI the other day.

In regard to this, the son of a high Thailand official was present around the 20th of August. Section Chief MURAKAMI of the General Staff Headquarters invited him to his home and wrote: "Japan is prepared to conclude a military alliance with Thailand. The stipulations are as follows..." The son was flown to Thailand

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with this piece of writing by Army plane. The Thailand Government thought that this was the opinion of the whole Japanese Government because the General Staff Headquarters had even despatched an airplane to send this message. They conferred immediately and were about to signify their approval. However, this was just the opinion of Section Chief MURAKAMI of the General Staff Headquarters and both the Navy and Foreign Ministries were in absolute disapproval of this. It was the Navy's contention that present naval preparations were such that it was insufficient even for home defense. If there should be a military alliance with Thailand, the most important thing in regard to the contents would be the execution of the contents of said alliance by the Japanese Navy. For instance, even if Army troops should be sent to Thailand, it would necessitate naval power. Again, in order to protect Thailand, naval power would be necessary in a joint defense. The Navy could not give its approval to a military alliance in which the Army itself participated, disregarding the Navy. This was the general opinion, and of course, the Foreign Ministry was of the same contentions. Therefore, the Army had met the joint disapproval of both the Foreign Ministry and Navy and they were at a loss as to what to do. This was only one of the many happenings which occured within the General Staff Headquarters and Army at this time. Individual colonels and majors of the Army handled proposals which exerted a great influence on the country, and they were liable to steer the fate of the country to grave results. This showed beyond all doubt that control was lacking in the Army. The situation was such that it was not possible to preserve the Supreme Prerogatives of the Emperor, and exceedingly grave results were liable to be reached. I was deeply troubled by the existence of possible causes for alarm.

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Although I believed that KOISO, as Premier, was familiar with this matter, I told him of this matter on the telephone. IKEDA was also very anxious about it, and he was very worried.

IKEDA continued: "Lt. Col. MURAKAMI called KIYOMIZU Yonosuke, President of the Kiyomizu Gumi and a certain executive of the Mitsui Bussan Co. Ltd. to his place and talked to them about the canal between Thailand and the Straits Settlements. MURAKAMI inquired: 'How much would it cost? Would it be possible with ten million yen?' He asked this with a haughty attitude. The two replied: 'It would never be possible with ten million yen. It might be necessary to have one billion yen.' MURAKAMI asked: 'Do you need that much?', and sent them home. The two civilians were infuriated with the rash and heedless attitude of the colonel, and they were regretful at the same time."

At noon, on the 29th, I had Ambassador YOSHIDA come to the hotel and we conversed while lunching. Ambassador YOSHIDA said: "What is going to happen anyway? The future is extremely dark. Looking at the actual situation of Europe, Japanese papers are all writing that Germany will emerge victorious and they are publishing propaganda advantageous to Germany. Actually, England is accomplishing a lot. I wonder if Europe won't be faced with a shortage of grain this fall and winter? Approximately nine million tons of grain will become short, and when the results of this are considered, a German victory is highly doubtful. Not only that, a crossing of the English Channel seems difficult in actuality, and the outcome of this war is difficult to foresee. On the other hand, Soviet Russia looks down on Japan very much and America's attitude is also suspicious. Present conditions may bring about quite a serious result, and

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when I think of this, the future looks dark. To tell you the truth, I have been wanting to meet you, and was about to send a messenger with a letter to Oiso. However, former Ambassador OTA came and said: 'There are various apprehensions concerning this new order.' The Japan Diplomatic Society has opened a conference and they are all very anxious. Some extremists even have doubts concerning KONOYE's fundamental ideas. There are some that are greatly worried, saying that instead of this being a conglomeration of the Nazi or Fuhrer systems and the Kyowakai (in Manchurkuo), this is beginning to take on the aspects of the age of KERENSKY in Soviet Russia. At any rate, well informed circles are saying that this problem is very serious." Although there were some points that I agreed with and some that I disagreed with, I listened to his story before returning.

Admiral [redacted] came at noon on the 31st, and said: "I came to report this secretly to you. About four or five days ago, Foreign Minister MATSUOKA came early in the morning twice by taxi. He wanted me to help him out by going to Washington as Ambassador. I replied: 'Today, when Japan's carring out diplomacy, a person such as I would not be able to accomplish anything if I were to go to America. America would also disregard me. I have not enough power and I believe that I will not be of any use to you in such capacities. I do not want to accept it.' I refused him, but after two or three days had passed, he came again in the morning and insisted, but I flatly refused. Foreign Minister MATSUOKA said: 'It is only because of the Tri-Parties pact that we desire to send someone like you. It will be considered that stress is being put on America and this will become an important point in Japanese diplomacy. Therefore, I want a man like you who commands great faith in America.' However I felt a great uneasiness, both in foreign

and domestic affairs, at this time. I could never agree to current diplomatic policies and my conscience did not permit me from acting as an ambassador to some foreign country. Therefore, I refused. Although it was said that both the War and Navy Ministers were aware of my objections, the Navy Minister did not strive very hard to prevent me from resufing when I met him. Of course even if he were to prevent me from refusing, I would have refused anyway. I wanted to say such things to you. I am going to visit a war comrade, Gen. UEDA Kenkichi at Kamakura. He is also very unlucky and I feel sorry for him...." With these words, the Admiral departed for Kamakura from Oiso.

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 375 (A)
(22 September 1940)

Army Domestic and Foreign Policy

Translated by Lt. Norio Morihara

I went to see the Prince on the 2nd of September and made a report on the situation. When I had finished, the Prince said: "By present methods, the Emperor's sagacity will be hidden and the assertation that His Majesty is wise and sagacious will become untruths. I wish that KONOYE would be more careful on such things." The Prince continued: "It may appear as if Germany will become the victor, but in the end, I believe that Great Britain will be victorious."

On the 3rd of September, Navy Minister YOSHIDA became troubled with insomnia as the result of a nervous breakdown and his resignation became imminent. In his place, Admiral OIKAWA, who had been appointed the Commandant of Yokosuka (Base) after his return from Shanghai, was appointed to the Cabinet as the Navy Minister. The make-up of the Navy was exceedingly weak and their leaders who were worried over this matter were desirous of placing a good man in office. However, in contrast to the Army, Naval tradition had not permitted the leaders of the Navy to come to the fore in public matters nor to do things over the heads of their leaders and this matter had been dropped. TOYODA, the Chief of the Air Service Headquarters, was appointed the Vice Minister on the 4th in order to aid Admiral OIKAWA. This was TOYODA Teijiro, who was the Chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau immediately following the London Treaty.

When I (HARADA) learned of this, I called Vice-

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Admiral TOYOD[illegible] on the phone and said: "There may be some dissatisfaction over the position, but in actuality, this is an extremely serious time. The Emperor is said to have said: 'Minister OIKAWA served as an aide-de-camp and I know him well. He is easy to talk to, but is he capable?' Therefore, it is necessary that the authoritative existence of the Navy be preserved with redoubled energy, and at the same time, the Navy must restrain the digressions of the Army in foreign policy and domestic administration. Since it is a most critical time, the Navy must aid the Emperor and I expect your efforts along that line." Vice-Admiral TOYODA was very glad and said that he would do his best.

I came to Tokyo from Oiso on the morning of the 5th and met Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA. He said: "The matter of foreign policy worried me. In the matter of the selection of ambassadors and ministers who carry credentials from the Emperor, His Majesty cannot say whether it is good or bad to the Foreign Minister even if His Majesty should have some doubts. This is very unnatural. If this were a problem of domestic administration and concerned prefectural governors, etc., then it would be permissible. However, I believe that it is the natural right of the Emperor to make criticisms of the ambassadors and ministers being dispatched to foreign nations who are supposed to be his choice."

Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal KIDO told the Emperor: "It is, of course, permissible for Your Majesty to instruct the administration as to the outline of the foreign policy, etc.; however, it is not desirable that criticisms of personalities be made." In this respect, there is an

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obvious difference in opinions between the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Imperial Household Minister. The Imperial Household Minister is a rather quiet person and he was relating such dissatisfactions to me when we met. I (HARADA) do not believe that it is good for the Emperor to say too much, but on the other hand, not all of the choices of the Foreign Minister have been beyond reproach. Of course, this depended on who was the Foreign Minister. If a report should be made by persons such as Foreign Minister MATSUOKA, it would be permissible to make criticisms without very much restraint. I believe that it is a good thing, but I thought that it might not be too good if I sympathized with the Imperial Household Minister excessively, so I just listened to his views.

The Army has become very pleased since the appointment of the present Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and men such as the Chief Aide-de-Camp are constantly going to see the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Whenever the Navy Minister visits the Imperial Palace, he visits KIDO and speaks with him. I thought that this might not be too good and it appears that MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, thought along the same lines. I (HARADA) told the Imperial Household Minister: "Vice Minister SHIRANE was related to the late Field Marshal YAMAGATA by marriage, and is considered a great favorite of the Army. Therefore, there is a considerable number of Army men, and men from the right wing, who visit SHIRANE's residence to learn the various details of the Imperial Household Ministry. I do not desire to alienate nor misrepresent the connection between the Minister and the Vice Minister, but if the

Imperial Household Minister is not fully conscious of such things, details of the Imperial Household Ministry will leak out, for better or for worse. This will become material for criticisms and falsifications and may be revealed as they are."

In the afternoon, I met KONOYE and he said: "According to MATSUOKA's selection, Lt. Gen. TATEKAWA is to be sent to Russia. Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA thought that since TATEKAWA, while still a major general in Geneva at the League of Nations, had been anti-Russian, Russia would not present any agremens. The Emperor seemed to feel the same way. TATEKAWA is a representative of the Far East Construction League and this league is a gathering of men opposed to Great Britain. Therefore, I thought that Russia would be satisfied. The Russian Ambassador visited Foreign Minister MATSUOKA and said: 'It was a very good thing that Lt. Gen. TATEKAWA was selected to come to our country.' It appeared as if the Soviet Ambassador had come to express his appreciation. The agremens was presented from Japan and the reply came three days later. Imperial Household Minister MATSUDAIRA and such had been in England for a long time and were still thinking in terms of the Geneva Conference. However, the situation has changed with the passing of time and it was not as they had thought.

"Foreign Minister MATSUOKA told me that HORIKIRI Zenbei would be sent to Italy so I asked him the reason for this. MATSUOKA replied that someone must be sent from the political parties. Lt. Gen. OSHIMA is slated for Germany, but he is considering this matter at the present.

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The Ambassadors to Great Britain and the United States have not been decided upon as yet. It is being said that SAIONJI Kinkazu will become the Minister to Australia and that USHIBA will become the Consul-General in Chicago. I thought that this was good for the future of these young men and although I thought that SAIONJI Kinkazu had gone a little too far, I approved. However, they thought that we were trying to alienate them and did not consider our good intentions at all. I regret this very much and think that they are a queer lot."

KONOYE continued: "The self-styled officials close to the Throne are USHIBA, KISHI, SAIONJI Kinkazu and MATSUMOTO Shigeharu. The leader appears to be KAZAMI Akira and these men are going to his place to discuss various matters. INUKAI goes around to various places making all sorts of statements and is exceedingly bothersome. The groups of the right wing which are split up, especially the younger men, seem to respect the name of SAIONJI, etc., and have made SAIONJI Kinkazu a sort of director. Men such as MIKAMI Taku are the same. They say that if SAIONJI Kinkazu should be sent abroad, there would be no one to unite the group and that it would be troublesome. However, such things will work themselves out."

KONOYE concluded: "The transmission of the letter to CHIANG Kai-shek, through the offices of the General Staff Headquarters the other day, was all a hoax. It was a failure and we found this out."

At noon on the 5th, former Foreign Minister ARITA came over and said: "I met Admiral SUETSUGU last night at a meeting of the Yokka-kai (4th Day Club). SUETSUGU

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said that this 'new order' was only a reformation of culture and economics and did not touch on foreign policy and politics. He also said that this differed from his opinions and that he could not subscribe to such movements. In the event that he could not approve of such things, there is nothing for him to do but to resign. SUETSUGU said such things and it may be better to tell KONOYE of this." Therefore, I informed KONOYE of these facts and he said: "Such misunderstandings were created because the explanation of Chief Cabinet Secretary TOMITA was poor. There is no such thing."

I stayed at Oiso from the 6th to the 9th because of a slight cold. I went to Okitsu on the 11th and made a report. The Prince said: "Judging from conditions, I wonder if KONOYE will not fall by the wayside? What do you think?" I had been entrusted with a letter from Ambassador YOSHIDA, and when I gave this to the Prince, he said: "There is no difference between the opinions of YOSHIDA and ours. However, it will become worse if I should come to the fore and do various things." I told the Prince of the demise of Prince KITASHIRAKAWA Nagahisa. The Prince delved into his memories and said: "A long time ago, when I was going to Europe, the elder General Prince KITASHIRAKAWA was on his first voyage to Europe and we went together."

Count KABAYAMA came over on the 15th and said: "The government of the United States is as cold as ice towards Japan. In order to alleviate the general atmosphere, it is necessary to give the impression that considerable importance is being attached to the United States by Japan. In order to gain this end, how about sending MATSUDAIRA

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Tsuneo or former Premier HIROTA as the Ambassador? I believe that it will be good for the sake of Japanese-American relations if such men were sent, especially since it is the time for a presidential election and it is a choice psychological moment because the feelings of the people are running high. How about sending an ambassador plenipotentiary such as in the case of the dispatching of CASTLE and have that person conclude an amendment to the trade treaties in order to see this difficult situation through?

"If the German-Japanese Treaty is ratified, I believe that the United States will take retaliatory measures and send capital to China in order to prolong the China Incident as long as possible. At the same time, they may make overtures to WANG Ching-wei and torture Japan. In these respects, isn't it better to change ambassadors before this treaty is concluded? If this war should be ended, I believe that Germany would grasp hands with the United States and seek a solution to the food problem and change to a peaceful policy. Whichever the case, it is necessary to keep a man of reliable character in the United States."

I went to Tokyo on the 16th and visited Premier KONOYE at his home in Ogikubo. We discussed various matters and I asked KONOYE: "I went to see the Prince recently and he was worried that you might fall by the wayside. How about this matter?" KONOYE replied: "It is even worse than falling by the wayside. I am really troubled."

KONOYE continued: "At the Liaison Conference, it was decided that a German-Japanese Military Alliance be

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concluded. Therefore, STAHMER, German Ambassador OTT and MATSUOKA met on September 9th. The draft is here, so please take it with you. In regard to the third point, there has been no reply from German Foreign Minister RIBBENTROP to our questions. In the first place, Japan rejected proposal 'B' because she could not agree to it. Therefore, they are reconsidering this and there has been no reply as yet."

I (HARADA) also informed the Premier of the matter of HIROTA and the opinions of KABAYAMA. Premier KONOYE replied: "If that is the opinion of KABAYAMA and CASTLE, then that is a problem. I shall consider it."

KONOYE continued: "There was a telegram from Ambassador Plenipotentiary KOBAYASHI, who has been sent to the Dutch East Indies. He tried to meet the governor-general at first, but since that could not be arranged, he met the assistant governor-general. Since he had to speak with the assistant governor-general in the conference, he complained and the governor-general finally came out. The attitude of the governor-general was not very pleasant and KOBAYASHI said that it would have been better if he had not come at all. In regard to the American problem, if WILKIE should become the President, CASTLE will probably become the Secretary of State. A German-Japanese Treaty is to be concluded for peaceful purposes and that is the object. There is no other way to do this."

GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE ARMY

In view of the wide range of national defense, the Army has set the following as the general plan for the various domestic and foreign policies:

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ESSENTIALS FOR THE CREATION OF A NEW JAPAN

I. Resolve that Japan's national polity, unparalleled as to the union of church and state, be manifested; based upon the fundamental principles of the founding of the Empire.

II. Resolve that both legislation and administration be just by the establishment of a parliamentary system peculiar to our nation, taking into consideration the wishes of the people in accordance with the articles of the Constitution.

III. Resolve that a positive and progressive national economic policy be established to promote the stabilization of the national livelihood and for increased national prosperity.

IV. In view of the wide range of national defense, resolve that the national spirit be awakened and production for national defense be increased.

V. Resolve that a new world order be established with prosperity for all nations in accordance with the principles of racial equality and balance of resources.

THE POLICY

I. THE REORGANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS

A. The custom of ignoring the Constitution and joining in the discussions for the transfer of administrative power, although there are such organs as elder and senior statesmen besides the Privy Council, will be changed; in the event of the resignation of a Premier, it will be the general rule for the President of the Privy Council to reply to the Imperial Inquiry as to the recommendation for the succeeding Premier.

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B. It will be the general rule for the Premier to issue national policies and the malpractice of the excessive issuance of government ordinances by the various ministries acting on their own will be discontinued.

C. As the 'brain trust' of the Premier, a Cabinet General Affairs Board will be established. It will control the National Policy Investigation Bureau (resources, investigation and budget), Personnel Bureau, Legislative Bureau, Economic Investigation Bureau and the Secretariat.

D. The State Ministers cannot be members of the Imperial Diet.

E. In regard to local administration, the 'gun' (county) system will be restored and a self-governing system similar to that of the 'shi' (city) introduced.

Remarks

The details for the reorganization of administrative organs are omitted here.

II. REORGANIZATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

A. The Imperial Diet will be bi-cameral and will consist of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives.

B. Although the Imperial Diet is a legislative agency, it is basically an agency for Imperial rule assistance and for the exaltation and free expression of public opinion.

C. The members of the House of Peers will be appointed from among those who have rendered meritorious services to the nation.

D. There will be district representation in the

House of Representatives and the House of Peers will be modelled after functional representation. Thus, scholars, philosophers, industrialists, reserve officers, and specialists of all fields will be included.

Remarks

1. High tax-payer members of the House of Peers will be eliminated at the end of their term of office.

2. The titled members will be reduced to one half.

3. The term in office of titled members and Imperial appointees will be 7 years.

4. With the exception of half of the titled members and the total number of high tax-payers, the specialists will be newly appointed according to the spirit of the aforementioned functional representation.

E. The House of Representatives will be comprised of representatives elected by the people.

F. The Election Laws will be revised so that the people will be able to vote freely and thus, the will of the people will be reflected in the Diet.

G. The right to vote and stand as a candidate for the House of Representatives will be limited to heads of families, 25 years of age or older.

Remarks

1. The electoral district system will remain the same as the present, 'middle' election district. (The Prefecture as a unit)

2. Candidates will post a bond of 500 yen, payable to the national treasury and unrefundable.

3. The government will shoulder the expenses for public management, rallies, correspondence, revenue

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stamps, and placards.

4. The party ballot will be used and the successful candidates will be decided upon in order of the greatest number of votes.

5. Election of assembly members from 'fu' (Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto), 'ken' (prefecture), 'gun' (county), 'shi' (city), 'ku' (ward), 'cho' (town), and 'mura' (village), will be governed by these rules.

III. REFORM OF ECONOMIC ORGANS

PRINCIPLE: The cardinal point for the economy of the Empire is to allow the people to live in peace and furthermore, to contribute to the national prosperity. As a subject of the Empire, he is the master of a family in private, and the subject of the Emperor in public. Based upon this principle, all economic measures must work toward the organization of an united nation.

The new economic order of the Empire is not capitalistic nor is it socialistic. It lies in another, that of consolidating the private and public benefits by overcoming and liquidating the errors of capitalism (original parenthesis: disregard of public benefits) and socialism (original parenthesis: disregard of private benefits). In other words, it lies in the establishment of a national integrated economic control.

A. RESOURCES: On the principle of public ownership, the right of perpetual tenancy of natural resources, chiefly, that of land (original parenthesis: in detail; arable land, hills and meadows, fishing grounds, forests, swamps, underground deposits, the navigation of waterways and airways) will be made available to actual users.

B. PRODUCTION: As a rule, production will be left

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to the private management of individuals or organizations, and the state will supervise this closely. However, in production which necessitates the concentration of essential materials in order to cope with the outbreak of emergencies, it will be best to adopt a form of state ownership, but under private management. In other words, the present production facilities will be purchased with bonds according to their estimated values. The management will be carried on by the present managers and the State will simply have the right of supervision.

C. CAPITAL: Transactions concerning capital, that is, banks, insurance, trusts and all other financial organs, will be under the supervision of the State. Even if private management is permitted on a short-term basis, strong State supervision is necessary because capital greatly differs from production. In such cases, private management will simply represent State supervision and training for transfer to State supervision will be instituted gradually.

D. DISTRIBUTION: Distribution will be under State supervision. Distribution of consumer goods will be carried out through State supervised warehouses and the operation of cooperatives and private concerns will be authorized through special permit.

E. FOREIGN TRADE: Foreign trade will be under strict State supervision. In actuality, State supervised foreign trade will be entrusted to the present managers.

F. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS ORGANS: These will be under pure State supervision and entirely out of the control of capitalistic management.

G. CURRENCY: Gold will be used only for foreign payments. There shall be two types of currency concurrently

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circulated domestically; one, paper currency equivalent to gold certificates; and the second, a warehouse certificate equivalent to certificates for goods.

H. In the case of concentration of essential production, essential production will be put under unitary control and the State will determine the value.

K. Public bonds, to be issued for the nationalization of essential production organs, will have a fixed interest.

L. The manager, entrusted with the management of essential production enterprises, will retain the profits gained through his own endeavors as his own.

IV. REFORM OF FINANCIAL POLICIES

Finance must be adaptable to the economic strength of the people. (Original parenthesis: For example, if the increased economic power of the past five year period is examined, it is easily seen that it has actually doubled. It is only natural that the national expenditure have accordingly increased.) From this point of view, a rational and sound financial policy will be established and the bureaucratic sectionalism in public finance of the past will be overcome and a new centrally controlled financial policy will be established.

A. SOURCE OF INCOME FOR NATIONAL FINANCE:

1. Income from nationalized privately managed essential industries. (Original parenthesis: Financial, commercial and industrial.)

2. Customs duty, monopoly profits, income tax, property tax, business tax, inheritance tax, consumers' tax, tax on the possession of negotiable instruments, patent tax, land tax, etc.

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B. SOURCE OF INCOME FOR LOCAL FINANCE:

1. The government will shoulder from 30% to 50% of the total amount.

2. Business tax, income tax, inheritance tax, tax on the possession of negotiable instruments, land tax, taxation of residentail sites, patent tax, property tax, etc.

3. Special provisions are established to change the rate of taxation according to climatic, topographical and other special conditions.

V. REFORM OF EDUCATION

A. The ideals for the attainment of education are the spirit of Japan with creation as its principle, and the spiritualism of lively development. The objectives of education are to encourage national unification, patriotism and the guarding and maintenance of the prosperity of the Imperial Throne.

B. The establishment of 'faith in Imperial Japan' which is based upon the fundamental ideals of our Empire.

C. The compulsory education period shall be 10 years. The first 6 years shall be allotted for ordinary education and the remaining 4 years shall be devoted to practical education based on local conditions. Practical education shall be carried out at half-day schools and seasonal schools so that work can be done while studying and vice-versa. Later, experimental and practical education will be carried out at vocational training institutes (original parenthesis: which may be called vocational guidance sections) to be set up locally.

D. Candidates for higher technical education shall be selected on the basis of their abilities and all

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expenses shall be borne by the government.

E. All requests for examination of theses for degrees will be granted regardless of the qualifications.

F. Increase of libraries in local districts.

G. Establishment of general science laboratories.

H. Encouragement of inventions and discoveries and the establis' ent of technical guidance organs.

VI. REFORM OF FOREIGN POLICIES

In consideration of Japan's historic world destiny, 'stooge' diplomacy and (military) intimidation diplomacy shall be rejected and a policy under one principle shall be established. The realization of a government policy which follows is planned.

A. The first step: The establishment of a Far Eastern political and economic bloc built around Japan and Manchukuo.

B. The second step: Formation of a Asia Economic League among Japan, Manchukuo, Siberia, North China, Central China, South China, Annam, Thailand, the Philippines, the South Seas Islands, the Dutch East Indies, Iran, Afghanistan and India.

C. The third step: Establishment of a Greater Asia Commonwealth.

D. The fourth step: Resolute enforcement of the moral restoration of the world.

Remarks

Encouragement of the establishment of the Southern Area Development Company in order to realize the second and third steps. A concrete plan will be drawn up separately.

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VII. PERFECTION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

In view of the wide scope of national defense, a thorough realization of the following matters is anticipated:

A. Through thorough betterment of the Army and the strict enforcement of military discipline, the gap between the Army and the people will be closed.

B. National education shall be improved fundamentally through the destruction of liberalism, individualism, democracy and communism, in order to advance along the path of sincere patriotism based upon the true meaning of Japan's national polity.

C. In the establishment of a quasi-wartime economy, productive capacity will be expanded and bolstered so that Japan's industrial productive capacity will be increased three-fold (original parenthesis: 45,000,000,000 yen) within three years at the most. By spreading the purchasing power to the people through rising production, sufficiency in national livelihood can be planned. In an emergency, the people would be able to take up their obligations voluntarily.

D. As the basic undertaking for national mobilization, the following intellectual mobilization will be prepared:

1. Reorganization of the technical departments of the Army and Navy.

2. Total mobilization of the inventions of civilians.

3. Preservation and nurturing of skilled labor.

VIII. EFFECTUATION OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION

There are social establishments on important matters which must be effected, other than those mentioned above.

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A. Public control of medical facilities: Creation of at least one medical center in a village; free medical examinations and medicine or minimum rates on such; and government subsidies to doctors.

B. Establishment of a national sanitation policy and enactment of a system of national insurance.

C. The combatting of virulent hereditary diseases; public institutions for venereal diseases; and public institutions for effectuation of eugenics in marriage.

D. A system for granting small loans without collateral through a system of mutual guarantee.

E. The enactment of a law for mutual cancellation of debts under 5,000 yen incurred by one family.

F. An expedient for the temporary return of articles and the strengthening of nationalized pawn brokers.

G. Establishment of State operated purchasing agencies for commodities (original parenthesis: those especially designated). Effectuation of a system for the loan of production machinery.

H. Enactment of labor legistlation (original parenthesis: Laws for the protection of laborers, farmers, store employees.)

K. Immediate commutation of political prisoners' sentences.

IX. EMERGENCY COUNTER-MEASURES

A. Measures to be taken against reactionary political parties.

B. Measures to be taken against the reactionary 'zaibatsu'.

C. Measures to be taken against Communists and legitimate Leftists.

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D. Measures to be taken against the reactionary press (newspapers and magazines).

E. Measures to be taken against the reactionaries.

F. Renovational propaganda for foreign consumption.

G. Measures to be taken for reorganizing Japanese economy.

I again went to Tokyo on the 20th and talked with the Premier from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. in the Japanese-style room of the official residence of the Premier. KONOYE said: "The Emperor told KIDO recently: 'I wonder if KONOYE will not develop a disliking and resign?' KIDO replied to the Emperor: 'I don't believe that such a thing will happen at the present time. There may be a time when he may have to resign, depending upon the political situation and the trend of the times, but I believe that KONOYE will refrain from resigning today just because of a dislike for his post. Of course, it is impossible for him to remain the Premier forever, but I believe that there will be no immediate development of a situation by which he may be forced to resign.'

KONOYE continued: "I visited the Palace the following day and His Majesty told me: 'I believe that the signing of the German-Japanese Military Alliance could not be helped, considering the present situation. If there are no other means of dealing with the United States, that may have been the only solution. However, just what is the Navy going to do in the case of hostilities with the United States? I have heard this matter discussed often. In the map problems of the Naval Staff College, Japan is always the loser in a Japanese-American war.

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Is everything all right?' (I (KONOYE) later asked Navy Vice-Minister TOYODA of this problem and he said: 'There is no such thing.') The Emperor continued: 'I am very concerned over this situation and just what would happen in the event that Japan should become a vanquished nation? If such a thing should arise, I wonder if the Premier will share the pains and toils with me?' Ordinarily, I (KONOYE) am a very cool and calm individual, but when I heard these words of the Emperor, my eyes became dimmed with tears. In other words, I was very deeply moved.

"I (KONOYE) then told the Emperor (the following was learned from Count KANEKO, and I (KONOYE) do not know anything as to its authenticity): 'Just prior to the Conference in the Imperial Presence immediately before the Russo-Japanese War, during which the final stand in regard to Russia was decided upon, the Emperor (MEIJI) summoned Prince ITO to a separate room. His Majesty told Prince ITO that according to the resolutions of the Cabinet Council, Japan was forced to fight Russia. The Emperor inquired as to what ITO would do in the event that Japan lost the war. His Majesty was very concerned and asked Prince ITO for his opinions. Prince ITO replied that he would relenquish all his decorations and titles and that he was determined to go into the battlefield and die alone. When Prince ITO replied in this manner, Emperor MEIJI was deeply moved and nodded his head as if to thank the Prince for his patriotic thoughts.' I (KONOYE) then told the Emperor: 'I am deeply moved by Your Majesty's solicitude. I am determined to do what little I can to serve the nation.' The Emperor nodded his head in acknowledgement.

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"I left the Palace and reported this incident to my colleagues at the Cabinet Council. Suddenly, Foreign Minister MATSUOKA began to cry aloud. Everyone present was deeply moved by this and it became very quiet there. No matter what is said of the fact that the Japanese people do not express their innermost emotions, everyone there was very deeply moved. I (KONOYE) spoke of this matter at the meeting of the Preparations Committee for the New Order Movement although I did not quote the Emperor directly. I told them: 'The Emperor is extremely solicitous over the current situation. I, who am charged with the responsibility of assisting the Emperor in ruling the nation, am filled with apprehension. I felt more keenly of the seriousness of my responsibilities and realized that I had to exert myself more in serving His Majesty.'"

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